

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS USA



Social Democrats, USA

275 7th Avenue / 25th Floor
New York, N.Y. 10001 / (212) 255-1390
CABLE ADDRESS: SOCDEMUSA NEWYORK



Honorary Chairman
A Philip Randolph

National Chairman
Bayard Rustin

JAN 10 1980

First National Vice-Chairman
James S. Glaser

Editor, New America
Arch Puddington

Executive Director
Carl Gershman

*Sent to
Dort
CANE
Tom
1/2/80*

January 7, 1980

Mr. Willy Brandt, President
The Socialist International
1 Ollenhauerstrasse
5300 Bonn 1
Federal Republic of Germany

Dear Comrade Brandt:

I am deeply shocked that Socialist Affairs chose to publish Michael Manley's speech to the Havana meeting of the so-called non-aligned movement. His ringing endorsement of the Bolshevik Revolution and Lenin, as well as his effusive praise for Cuba and Castro, have no place in a democratic socialist publication. This is, to my knowledge, the first time that the Socialist International has given its tacit endorsement of such pro-Communist views. It is a very disturbing sign.

The argument that Mr. Manley's views do not necessarily reflect the views of the Socialist International or its member parties is beside the point. If a party leader happened to express pro-fascist or racist views, I doubt that they would receive top billing in Socialist Affairs. On the contrary, the reaction of the International would be consternation and outrage, and rightly so. I do not see how the matter differs in any substantive or principled way in the case of Mr. Manley's address.

I would like to hear your views on this matter, and I look forward to receiving your reply.

Fraternally,

Bayard Rustin
National Chairman

BR/ay
cc: Bernt Carlsson

FEB 1 1980



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Socialist International,
88a St John's Wood High Street
London NW8 7SJ Great Britain

Phone 01-586 1101 Telex 261735
Cables INTESOCN LONDONNW8

President
Willy Brandt

General Secretary
Bernt Carlsson

January 18, 1980

Mr Bayard Rustin
National Chairman
Social Democrats, USA
275 7th Avenue / 25th floor
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10001
USA

Dear comrade,

In reply to your letter to Willy Brandt of January 7, 1980
of which you kindly sent me a copy, the following points
might be of interest:

Comrade Michael Manley is one of the vice-presidents of the
Socialist International. As you know he is also one of the most
respected leaders of the Third World.

Socialist Affairs had also published speeches by other comrades
who are on a somewhat different political line. As an example
the one by Bettino Craxi, vice-president of the Socialist
International, in SA No.3/79 issue can be mentioned.

It is the ambition of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS to try to reflect the
wide diversity of opinion which exist within the Socialist
International.

With best regards,

Fraternally yours

(H)

FEB 7 1980

February 4, 1980

Mr. Edward Finkelstein
Chairman of the Board
Macy's New York
151 West 34th Street
New York, N.Y. 10001

Dear Mr. Finkelstein:

On behalf of the Social Democrats USA, I want to express my deep concern on the damaging role Macy's has been playing in the struggle of the workers at J.P. Stevens.

You are undoubtedly aware that the men and women employed by J.P. Stevens have been engaged in a prolonged effort to secure decent wages and working conditions. J.P. Stevens, for its part, has responded by consistently violating the National Labor Relations Act in a systematic effort to avoid engaging in collective bargaining. It evidently is willing to pay the price of being branded the country's foremost exploiter of working people. The compensation for Stevens is obvious. Why Macy's should risk its own good name by associating with such a corporate criminal is not as obvious.

The fact that it is one of the largest retailers of Stevens' products leads us at the Social Democrats to believe that Macy's has chosen sides in this issue. I would appreciate a clarification from you on Macy's position. I plan to inform our members, as well as organizations we work with, about this situation, and I am therefore most interested in your response.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
National Chairman

BR/ay

blinded: Bayard Rustin

(X)

February 5, 1980

Mr. Ray Korphant, Vice President
Finast
500 North Street
Windsor Locks, Connecticut 06096

Dear Mr. Korphant:

The Social Democrats USA have always supported the United Farm Workers in its struggle to win decent wages and living conditions through collective bargaining. As part of this policy, our members have studiously observed boycotts of products grown by companies that refuse to recognize or negotiate with the UFW. Bruce Church, which grows and markets Red Coach iceberg lettuce, is one such company.

It is difficult to understand why Finast would risk besmirching its own reputation by associating with a company that uses questionable tactics to deny a basic right of workers to organize and bargain collectively. Since so many other brands of iceberg lettuce are available, it would hardly be a sacrifice for Finast to take the only decent position on this issue. To do otherwise is, at the very least, to take the side of the company.

Please clarify Finast's position on this matter. Members of the Social Democrats and of organizations we work with would like to be advised if they can, in good conscience, continue to shop at Finast.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
Chairman

BR/ay

May 21, 1980

Kim Chul, Leader
The United Socialist Party of Korea
69-26, Galwall-dong, Yongsan-ku
Seoul, Korea

Dear Comrade Kim:

I regret that I will not be able to participate in the Socialist International Mission to South Korea. Nonetheless, I want to take this opportunity to express the solidarity felt by the membership of the Social Democrats, USA with all Koreans struggling to bring democracy to their land. In this time of uncertainty in Korea, we salute your efforts and determination.

Fraternally,

Bayard Rustin
Chairman

BR/ay

August 4, 1980

Albert Shanker, President
United Federation of Teachers
260 Park Avenue So.
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Al:

Social Democrats, USA is having its convention on the weekend of November 22 - 23 at the New York Statler in New York City. To open the event, there will be a dinner on Friday evening, November 21 honoring Leo Cherne.

To say that the outstanding work Leo has done to aid the plight of refugees worldwide, and the unique knowledge and gifts he possesses in this preeminent area of humanitarian concern are worthy of honor is a poor understatement. Whether it is in the aid of Czechs fleeing to Austria, Soviet Jews escaping religious and political persecution, Afghans encamped in Pakistan, Chinese trying to reach Hong Kong or Angolans in Zaire, Leo has applied his skills to yield concrete results. He was one of the earliest, most persistent, and most effective voices raised to bring the plight of the Southeast Asian boat and land people to world attention.

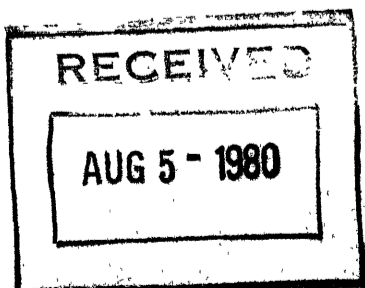
We would be most delighted, indeed honored, if you would agree to speak at the dinner for Leo. Your association with Leo as a board member of the IRC and as a member of the Citizens Commission on Indochinese Refugees makes you intimately aware of the scope of his efforts. And your stature within the labor movement would highlight the invaluable contribution that the American trade union movement has made toward aiding those fleeing tyranny and economic deprivation. Your consenting to speak would also, of course, be a magnificent tribute to Leo for all of his extraordinary accomplishments.

I hope you can be with us on the 21st. I look forward to your response as soon as possible.

Fraternally,

Bayard Rustin
National Chairman

BR/pwh



August 4, 1980

Hon. Daniel P. Moynihan
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Pat:

Social Democrats, USA is having its convention on the weekend of November 22 - 23 at the New York Statler. To open the event, there will be a dinner on Friday, evening, November 21, honoring Leo Cherne.

To say that the outstanding work Leo has done to aid the plight of refugees worldwide, and the unique knowledge and gifts he possesses in this preeminent area of humanitarian concern are worthy of honor is a poor understatement. Whether it is in the aid of Czechs fleeing to Austria, Soviet Jews escaping religious and political persecution, Afghans encamped in Pakistan, Chinese trying to reach Hong Kong or Angolans in Zaire, Leo has applied his skills to yield concrete results. His was one of the earliest, most persistent, and most effective voices raised to bring the plight of the Southeast Asian boat and land people to world attention.

We would be delighted, indeed honored, if you would agree to speak at the dinner for Leo. As someone who has been active in alleviating the plight of the Indochinese refugees, you would add an important dimension to this tribute paid to Leo for all of his extraordinary accomplishments.

I hope you can be with us on the 21st. I look forward to your response as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
National Chairman

BR/pwh

Social Democrats

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GENERAL CHUN DOO HWAN
PRESIDENT SOUTH KOREA
SEOUL KOREA
URGE THAT YOU SPARE KIM DAE JUNG'S LIFE IF THIS
UNFAIR DEATH SENTENCE IS CARRIED OUT IT WILL DO
A GREAT DISSERVICE TO SOUTH KOREA AND HER CAUSE
BAYARD RUSTIN
CHAIRMAN

*file
South Korea*

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SOCIAL DEMOCRATS USA
275 7TH AVE
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Social Democrats, USA

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NOV 12 1980

November 11, 1980

National Chairman
Bayard Rustin

First National Vice-Chairman
James S. Glaser

Vice-Chairmen
Paul Feldman
Samuel H. Friedman
Carl Gershman

Editor, New America
Arch Puddington

Executive Director
Rita Freedman

Social Democrats

Dear Friend:

Social Democrats, USA is having its National Convention on the weekend of November 21-23 at the New York Statler (Seventh Avenue at 33rd Street). Professor William Julius Wilson, Chairman of the Department of Sociology and the author of The Declining Significance of Race, will address the convention on the question of Black Inequality on Saturday, November 22nd at 2 P.M. Norman Hill, President of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, will comment on the presentation.

Professor Wilson's analysis is at the center of a reevaluation currently underway about the reasons for the persistence of a black underclass and about the potential remedies to alleviate the situation. His remarks at the convention promise to be most relevant and thought provoking.

I would like to invite you to a small luncheon gathering with Professor Wilson that will be held on Saturday, November 22nd, at 12:30 P.M. at the offices of the Recruitment and Training Program (RTP), 162 Fifth Avenue, 11th floor. The lunch will be over in time to return to the convention for the Wilson session.

Please let me know if you are able to attend by Monday, November 17. I look forward to seeing you at the convention as well as at the luncheon.

Fraternally,

Rita Freedman

Rita Freedman
Executive Director

RF/vlk



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James S. Glaser

Vice-Chairmen
Paul Feldman
Samuel H. Friedman

Editor, New America
Arch Puddington

Executive Director
Rita Freedman

September 21, 1982

William Julius Wilson
Hoover Institute
Stanford University
Palo Alto, CA 94305

RECEIVED SEP 23 1982

Dear Bill:

It is with pleasure that we take up Jackson Toby's suggestion, contained in the enclosed letter, and ask you to join us as a member of Social Democrats, USA. We have had indications in the past that you might be considering membership, but one fault that we SD'ers admit to is our reluctance to use a "hard sell" when it comes to recruiting new members.

Our national convention is now being planned for December 3-5 in Washington, D.C. Should you decide to become a member, we would greatly appreciate if you would write a resolution of two to three double-spaced pages on the urban crisis and its effect on the social fabric. While we agree with Jackson that the problem is one that is analogous to the blind men and the elephant, we would like you to represent your perspective. You can rest assured that it will be debated fully so that other viewpoints will be taken into consideration in the final version that is passed.

We hope that you will agree both to becoming a member and to contributing your expertise to our deliberations. We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Bayard
Bayard Rustin

Norm
Norm Hill



Social Democrats, USA

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National Chairman
Bayard Rustin
First National Vice-Chairman
James S. Glaser
Vice-Chairmen
Paul Feldman
Samuel H. Friedman
Editor, *New America*
Arch Puddington
Executive Director
Rita Freedman

September 20, 1982

RECEIVED SEP 23 1982

Albert Shanker
American Federation of Teachers
260 Park Avenue South
New York, NY 10010

Dear Al:

Social Democrats, USA will be holding its national convention in Washington, D.C. on December 3-5, 1982. The theme of the convention will be the state of the Democratic Party, with a view towards its attempts to rebuild itself and the 1984 elections.

We would be honored if you would deliver the keynote address. After a serious discussion, we felt that this would be a propitious time to offer what is, in effect, a double challenge. The first would be to the neoconservatives who left the Democratic Party fold largely on the basis of foreign policy. We would like them to take a hard look at the Reagan Administration's record on foreign policy and ask themselves if it is worth it given the disastrous economic situation and its impact on workers and the poor. The second challenge would be to the New Left and its solutions for an anti-Reagan strategy within the Democratic Party.

We intend to follow the keynote address with a panel discussion by four political analysts who would comment on the speech and make their own observations. Among those we have been considering as panelists are Ben Wattenberg, Norman Podhoretz, Tom Kahn and Martin Peretz. We hope to publish and distribute the entire proceedings widely within labor, political and intellectual circles.

The convention will be held at the Shoreham Hotel, and the keynote address will be at 11 a.m., Saturday, December 4. Naturally, we will wait to hear from you before we contact prospective panel members. Needless to say, we eagerly await your reply.

Fraternally,

Rita Freedman
Executive Director

RF/fh

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Bayard Rustin
President

Norman Hill
Executive Director

Charles Bremer
Associate Director

Mrs. Arthur C. Logan
Treasurer

Charles Bloomstein
Secretary

A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund

260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

November 24, 1982

Rita Freedman
Executive Director
Social Democrats U.S.A.
275 7th Avenue - 25th Fl.
New York, N.Y. 10001

Dear Comrade Rita,

I believe that Hatsy informed you that I have agreed to stand for election as Chairman of Social Democrats U.S.A. for one more year. I learned that she did not inform you of a condition that I feel I must lay down if I am to run. I believe that in democratic organizations officers should automatically be members of all committees except the nominating committee when they themselves are under consideration for office.

I am setting this condition as the result of the extremely harsh, ill-mannered, and undemocratic treatment Sam and Mary Friedman received at a committee meeting in Washington about one year ago.

For me, this is a matter of values. First of all, I myself cannot serve as chairman without this right, even though I will probably not exercise it often. Secondly, if I, as an officer demand this democratic right, I cannot serve if it is denied another officer.

Sam, like any of us, may on occasion present a problem, but surely after all the years of sacrifice and service he has given our movement, long before most of us were active, means that we must treat him with the dignity he deserves.

If the organization is prepared to accept this condition, I shall stand for election for the year 1983.

Fraternally,

Bayard Rustin

cc: Arch Puddington
Tom Kahn
Don Slaiman
Sam Friedman

BR/wn

Rita Freeman,
Ex. Secy
Social Democrats U.S.A.
275 17th Ave - 25th Fl.
N.Y.C. 10001

L.I.D. —
C.C. —
D.C. —
S. —
Sam Friedman

Dear Rita,

I believe Harry informed you that I have agreed to stand for election as chairman of Social Democrats U.S.A. for one more year. I learn that she did not inform you of a condition that I feel I must lay down if I am to run. I believe that in democratic organizations officers should automatically be members of all committees except the nominating committee when they themselves are under consideration for office.

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about one year ago

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If the organization is prepared to accept this condition, I shall stand for election for the

year 1983.

Fraternally
Rayan



Social Democrats, USA

275 7th Avenue / 25th Floor
New York, N.Y. 10001 / (212) 255-1390
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National Chairman
Bayard Rustin
Editor, New America
Lesley Chenoweth
Executive Director
Rita Freedman

RECEIVED DEC 13 1983

October 19, 1983

Dear Friend:

I think you share with us a deep concern about the present and future state of the American economy. Around us, we see a dramatic erosion in our country's basic industries, an erosion which is likely to continue despite any upturn in the economy.

Business leaders have frankly acknowledged that they will not be rehiring many of those laid off in the current recession. Technology and foreign imports have replaced too many of these workers. "High tech" industries will not re-employ enough of those already displaced from basic industries, nor will they employ enough of those entering the job market.

The consequences for our economy, our society, our defense are too important to allow such a development to take place in the present haphazard, unplanned fashion. All sectors will be affected, and all sectors should therefore have input into devising a responsible position to cope with the problem.

Social Democrats, USA has adopted the enclosed position, urging the designation of a specially appointed, high-level public commission, with representatives from the two political parties, labor, business and the communities in crisis, to study the situation and to make proposals with six months to the President, the Congress and the public. The proposal was endorsed by prominent community leaders, academics and trade unionists. While not all of the endorsers are members of SD, USA, they all agree with the sentiment of the statement.

The proposal was published as an open letter to Republicans and Democrats in the October 31, 1983 issue of The New Republic. We thought you would be interested in seeing a copy, and we welcome your comments, and your endorsement.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin
National Chairman

BR/fh

An Open Letter to Democrats and Republicans on **The Structural Crisis of the American Economy**

Despite much speculation about national economic recovery, as many as a million workers, by conservative estimates, are not likely to be returning to their jobs in America's basic industries this fall.

But despite the great costs—human and economic—this will exact, neither of our major political parties has responded to this crisis with adequate concern. Fashionable Republican doctrine holds that the problems of our basic industries will in time be corrected by the invisible hand of the marketplace—if they deserve to be corrected at all. The Democrats profess great sympathy for those affected by industrial decline. But, as a practical matter, the Democratic presidential candidates have neglected the issues and constituencies involved in favor of pursuing the affluent, educated social activists who continue to dominate the Democratic Party's presidential nominating procedure. Thus an economic crisis now threatens to become a political crisis—one which could be deep, lasting and very painful.

What we describe here as basic industries—steel, auto, rubber, apparel and more—have long been the foundation of the American economy. But they have been much more than that. From World War II through the mounting threat from the Soviet Union that followed, these industries were the world's great arsenal of democracy. They still are today. Employment in these industries, moreover, has been the basis of a great democratic experience in our country:

- It provided social and economic opportunity for people of widely diverse backgrounds.
- It was the source of the first mass prosperity the world has known.
- It provided the basis for the rise of an independent, democratic trade union movement which enhanced the freedom and the dignity of all Americans, and became an unequalled force in building a free labor movement worldwide.
- It permitted the establishment of families and communities which have been bulwarks of decency, responsibility, hard work, and hope—an often celebrated embodiment of America's values.

We do not believe that America can allow these industries—and the security and community which they undergird—to be shattered by blind and perhaps temporary trends in corporate strategy, financial markets, or world trade. In the crisis of these industries and communities, government is not really the problem; in fact, government must become part of the solution. We do not ask that government sustain these industries and communities, regardless of the public expense. But we do believe that government must take measures to assure that whatever structural changes must be made in our economy proceed with due consideration for our long-term economic needs, for our national security needs, and for the valuable human communities which depend upon these industries.

What, precisely, such measures should entail must be a matter for careful study and debate. We are persuaded, however, that these questions require government at the highest levels to assume a serious measure of responsibility for focusing public concern upon the problems, for organizing discussion of the measures to be taken, and for recommending to the private and public sectors the steps required to avoid unnecessary harm and hardship.

In the past year, two very different issues of public policy have been resolved with commendable results through the efforts of specially-appointed, high-level public commissions: the National Commission on Social Security Reform, and the Scowcroft Commission on Strategic Forces.

We urge the President and Congress to designate a national leadership commission to seek emergency measures to prevent an irresponsible collapse of America's basic industries. Such a commission should include, in addition to the leaders of both political parties, representatives of labor, business, and the communities and regions which are in crisis. It should be adequately financed and staffed, and should report its proposals within six months to the President, Congress, and the public.

Amital Etzioni
Walter Galenson
Norman Hill
Sidney Hook
Leon Keyserling
Paul Kurtz
Lloyd McBride
Arch Puddington
Bernard Rapoport
list in formation

John P. Roche
Peter R. Rosenblatt
Bayard Rustin
Richard M. Scammon
Paul Seabury
Albert Shanker
Adam Walinsky
Elle Wiesel
William Julius Wilson

----- clip and mail -----

☐ I agree with the above statement and wish to officially endorse it.

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____ to help defray the cost of circulating the industrial policy statement.

Name _____
(Please print)

Address _____

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Send to Social Democrats, USA, 275 7th Avenue, 25th floor, New York, New York 10001

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National Chairman, Bayard Rustin, Executive Director, Rita Freedman.
Endorsers of this statement are not necessarily members of Social Democrats, USA

NOTES



NATIONAL OFFICE
275 Seventh Avenue / 25th Floor / New York, N.Y. 10001 / February-March, 1983
Volume XII, Number 2

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Rustin in the Middle East

Our last issue of Notes left off as Bayard Rustin was about to depart on a Socialist International mission to the Middle East. The delegation consisted of Rustin, Mario Soares (head of the Portuguese Socialist Party, former Prime Minister of Portugal and chairman of the SI Working Group on the Middle East), Bernt Carlsson (Secretary General of the SI), Walter Hacker (Austria), Lasse Budtz (Denmark), Jacques Huntzinger (France), Ivanka Corti (Italian Social Democrats), Giuseppe Scanni (Italian Socialists), Relus Ter Beek (Netherlands), and Rui Mateus (Portugal). The mission stopped in Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, and Tunisia. In Beirut, the delegation met with U.S. Special Envoy Morris Draper, Lebanese President, Amin Gemayel, the head of the SI member party Walid Jumblatt, and other top officials both in and out of government. In Jordan, it met with the Crown Prince Hassan as well as the Minister for Foreign Affairs; in Israel, with Prime Minister Begin, Minister for Foreign Affairs Shamir, President Navon, Shimon Peres, Abba Eban, Chaim Herzog and other top leaders of the Labour Party, members of the Mapam executive, President of the Shelli Party, Jacob Arnon, who has met with Yasir Arafat recently, Peace Now members, and Palestinians; and in Tunis, with the Prime Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Secretary-General of the Arab League, and Yasir Arafat and several members of the PLO leadership. Rustin absented himself from this last meeting.

On every stop except Israel, Rustin found a unanimity of opinion that Israel was purposely delaying its withdrawal from Lebanon because it was determined to dominate the Arabs and take over the West Bank. The view was expressed repeatedly that there is no essential difference in this regard between the Labour Party and Begin; therefore, even if the Commission which still had not issued its report of the massacres in Sabra and Shatila found some Israeli culpability that led to the fall of the Begin government, nothing essential would change. Almost all felt that neither the Syrians nor the Israelis had a vested interest in staying in Lebanon. However, since both were against the Reagan Plan, both felt that by delaying withdrawal from Lebanon they could undermine chances for the Reagan proposal. Syria and Israel were therefore effectively working in coalition in this instance, a coalition of opposites, as it were.

Ironically, one party also against early Israeli withdrawal was Walid Jumblatt, who never hesitates to harshly criticize Israel at SI meetings. Jumblatt, whose Progressive Socialist Party (made up of Druse) mans one of the five standing armies in Lebanon, feared that if the Israelis were to leave now, it would lead to a bloodbath in his country. He emphasized that there would have to be some international force in Lebanon for some time to come to prevent this. Jumblatt looks on Gemayel as the greatest danger, convinced that his Phalangists want to destroy the Druse.

Where all non-Israelis again agreed, at least when speaking to the Mission, was that the PLO had a major victory in Lebanon. This view was expressed not only by friends of the PLO, but also by parties who were not enamored of the organization. The rationale was that it took Israel only six days to take over all the Arabs armies arrayed against it in a conventional war, while guerrilla action held Israel up for 80 days. (This viewpoint was expressed again at the Algiers meeting of the Palestine National Congress.)

A la Fidel Castro's marathon meetings, Yasir Arafat spent four hours with the SI delegation. With him, among others, was Dr. Sartawi, who, until the Algiers meeting, was a member of the PNC that advocated talks with Israel; his political differences led to his dismissal. Obviously, Arafat wanted to put forth the PLO's most moderate face.

He told the delegation (sans Rustin) that in his view, the PLO has accepted U.N. Resolution 242 and the Fez statement and that this is "proof to anyone who has eyes to see that the PLO has in effect prepared to recognize Israel when Israel recognizes it." He boasted that he was the only "general" in the Arab world who had never been defeated by the Israeli forces, and that proof that the PLO was still "alive and kicking" was a recent parade it had in Tunis featuring 7,000 of its soldiers.

In Lebanon, the PLO, according to Arafat, had twice agreed to a ceasefire, and if it did that, why shouldn't anyone believe that it wouldn't agree to a peace settlement and then keep it. In any talks concerning the West Bank, however, it was impossible for King Hussein of Jordan to speak for him or the PLO. But if PLO people were in the Jordanian delegation, that delegation would then be speaking for the PLO.

He appealed to the SI to help him avoid the "inevitable" if negotiations do not progress - the "inevitable" being that throughout the Arab world, radicals would take over and there would be no further chance for peace. To avoid this outcome, Arafat said he needed the help of the European countries, and he appealed to the SI to aid in this regard. To do so, the SI would need to do two things. The first, which he described as easy, was for the SI to go on record as standing for the Palestinians right of self-determination. The second, which he acknowledged would be more difficult, but which he claimed must be done if the SI is truly interested in peace, was for the SI to recognize the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

All of this will be presented to the SI Congress this April in Portugal. The resolution that will emerge is bound to cause fireworks!



Social Democrats, USA

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New York, N.Y. 10001 / (212) 255-1390
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National Chairman
Bayard Rustin
First National Vice-Chairman
James S. Glaser
Vice-Chairmen
Paul Feldman
Samuel H. Friedman
Editor, New America
Lesley Chenoweth
Executive Director
Rita Freedman

February 18, 1983

The Editor
National Catholic Reporter
P.O. Box 281
Kansas City, MO 64141

To the Editor, The National Catholic Reporter:

In his story on the Institute on Religion and Democracy (The National Catholic Reporter, February 4, 1983), your staff writer, Steve Askin, violates his own canon of taste to put into print a groundless slur against Penn Kemble, a member of Social Democrats, USA. Mr. Askin writes:

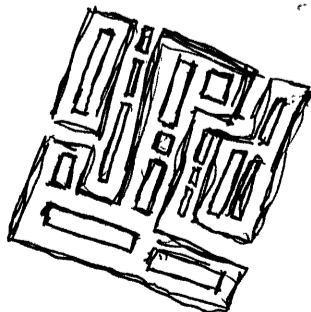
"Jack Clark of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), who fought with Kemble in the old Socialist Party, says his factional rival 'came out of a Marxist tradition in which religion was actively sneered at and looked down upon. He's part of the crowd that always laughed at Norman Thomas for being a Protestant minister. I suspect this is just a cynical ploy on (Kemble's) part - he has realized that religion is just another lever to pull in his political machinations.'"

Mr. Askin then goes on to allow that:

"Such disputes about personal motivations may seem out of place in a serious debate on the relationship between religious belief and social action. Probably they are."

Probably? They certainly are. Steve Askin should have followed his editorial conscience.

I don't know Mr. Clark, and I understand that he has only a passing acquaintance with Penn Kemble. But I do know that his comment is untrue, and I think that he and your writer have an obligation either to prove it or to apologize for it.



- 2 -

Penn Kemble comes from a family with many ties to the tradition of Norman Thomas. Penn's father campaigned for Norman in the Pennsylvania coal fields in the 1920s, and as an undergraduate at Princeton University; Penn himself joined the Young People's Socialist League when Norman Thomas visited his college campus in the 1960s. Penn went on to serve as a personal aide to Norman on many such trips, including one of his last trips overseas-- a visit to the Dominican Republic in 1965, on which I had the occasion to join them. Penn was chosen by a group of Norman's closest friends and colleagues (including some who today are active in Mr. Clark's organization) to serve as Executive Director of the Norman Thomas Fund in the years after Norman's death.

Although Penn has been a colleague of mine since we worked together on the staff of the 1963 March on Washington, I do not know a great deal about his work in the Institute on Religion and Democracy. But your article strikes me as misleading and uncivil. It is not what one would have expected from the National Catholic Reporter. There must be some substantive issues in the controversy between the IRD and the National Council of Churches. I wish the Reporter would inform us about those issues. It is not helpful to engage in nor to promote glib and ill-informed attempts at character assassination.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin
National Chairman

BR/fh

ELIAS M. SCHWARZBART
ATTORNEY AT LAW
70 EAST 10TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003
(212) 982-5461

August 5, 1983

Bayard Rustin, National Chairman
Social Democrats, USA
275 7th Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10001

Dear Bayard,

Greetings ! I have read your letter of July 27 enclosing the Policy Statement of the SDUSA for the 1984 elections and am accepting your invitation to comment on it in summary form.

My disagreement with the Statement is fundamental and is a replay of my opposition in 1980 to the endorsement of Carter. In 1980, I had urged the SD's "neutrality" - a refusal to endorse either candidate, while setting forth our independent prescriptions for the nation's problems. I firmly believed this would have been Meany's sober judgment as in the case of the McGovern campaign (Carter was a worse fool). Instead of trying to dissuade the AFL-CIO from this folly, we meekly went along. Our erroneous and predictably self-defeating decision was a serious set-back to labor and the SD and left us practically without influence in the new administration (ironically, the little influence we did have we owed more to neo-conservative sponsorship).

Now, it seems, we are determined to repeat the blunder in spades and choose among the Sominex sextet (or, worse, Kennedy) of the Democratic party, all of whom make Carter look like a genius. I ask this simple question: Does the utterly disastrous post-1980 record of the DP justify that support and is not the internal situation in the DP now even more chaotic and more disruptive in its structure and in its response to desperate domestic and foreign problems than before 1980? To ask the question is to answer it.

To clarify my position: if by some miracle, someone of the stature of Sen. Henry Jackson ~~Calbre~~ were to be the Democratic candidate, we could enthusiastically endorse him, not only because of his superior qualities, but even more, because it would symbolize a fundamental shift of the structure of the DP in the direction of our goals. But the very impossibility of this alternative, speaks eloquently for the fact that forces hostile to our goals now dominate the DP and will choose the candidate.

I can therefore see no principled or pragmatic reasons for the SD to support any foreseeable candidate in either party in 1984 and to ~~XXXX~~ ~~XXXXX~~ oppose Reagan with all his faults (and, God knows, the list is

RECEIVED 26 10 1983

Bayard Rustin

August 5, 1983

page two

long) in favor of any of this Democratic crew of cretins is the height (or depths) of folly - and irresponsibility. Also to be considered is that foreign policy - active resistance to Soviet expansionism and support for rearmament to restore the global balance is a matter of national survival and the crucial issue. Domestic shortcomings and blunders can be overcome but if we falter in our resistance to Soviet power, we will not have a second chance.

The Statement of Policy is fatally flawed because it is formulated and custom-designed to fit the framework of a Democratic campaign as exemplified, for instance, by soft-peddalling the issue of national defense and resistance against totalitarianism, - despite some feeble efforts at attacking the Congressional doves.

In sum, our position ^{as of now} should be:

1. support neither candidate or party in 1984; instead, adopt a truly independent and principled statement of policy that truly reflects the nation's needs at home and abroad.

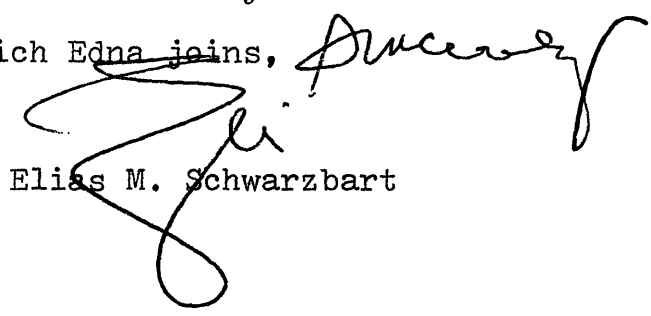
2. After the elections, maintain our independence: support the winner when he is right and oppose him when he is wrong. Then you will be respected and listened to by the people and those who govern.

3. A practical point. There is a great reservoir of talent in the SD which is available and needed by the victor. If we are "neutral", they can still be called upon; but if we are on the losing side (a 75% possibility), the doors will be closed.

I owe you a frank statement of my personal view of the candidates: If the only choice is between Reagan and any of the present Democratic crew, my intention is to vote for Reagan as the lesser evil.

Thanks for giving me a chance to get this off my chest.

With warm personal regards, in which Edna joins,


Elias M. Schwarzbart

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

LEON H. KEYSERLING
2610 UPTON STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

RECEIVED SEP 13 1983

August 22, 1983

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Social Democrats, USA
275 7th Avenue/ 25th Floor
New York, N.Y. 10001

Dear Bayard:

I have your communication of August 10 asking me to comment upon the policy statement adopted by Social Democrats, USA, regarding the 1984 elections. A few years ago when we were both at the same meeting, you said that "the thing about Leon is that he always tells us the truth". I will try to do so again.

I have become very disturbed about the weakened course of action followed during recent years by organizations such as the one of which you are National Chairman, the A. Philip Randolph Institute, most of the labor groups, and black organizations, other public interest groups, etc. They parade, and talk, and shake their fists, but appear to have forgotten that demonstrations must back something very specific to produce results.

Your current pamphlet, I feel, suffers from this deficiency. You lament the small hope offered to the poor, the hard-hit workers in some industries and regions; you ask for long term industrial policies, but that phrase, empty in itself, is nowhere translated into specific content. You call for government investment in infrastructure, increased federal support to education and manpower training, federal insistence on fair international trade, no more public assistance to those seeking exploitative profits by investing overseas, a renewed commitment to provide income assistance and social services for security, health, and dignity of America's aged, poor and disabled. You even go so far as to oppose Republican laissez faire, and you ask for jobs for all. These are grand general objectives, ~~mostly~~ voiced by the ~~genius~~ and the ~~pretentious~~. *both genuine disingenuous*.

What does this mean to any Members of Congress wanting to introduce significant legislation? Very little, I fear. These gains could be accomplished only when they are sought through a comprehensive program with goals and time tables, as to how much of each they attempt, and how they fit together. This requirement is nothing new. It was met during World War II and during the seven years that I served on Truman's Council of Economic Advisers, when there were prodigies of economic and social performance despite difficulties greater than any since, and when full employment was combined with price stability (and during the Truman years with balanced budgets), and when our social priority services were enlarged instead of sliced.

But since then there has been a terrible falling off, as "demonstration" has supplanted performance. A number of years ago, as you may recall, I drafted a Freedom Budget for all Americans. This was the fullest and most concrete specification of what we needed to do. It could have become an

historic instrument in the fight for economic abundance and social justice. It was signed by hundreds of distinguished people. Then, by request of those interested, I drafted a bill to implement the Freedom Budget. The bill was utterly abandoned by its primary supporters, including the labor groups, primarily on the advice of the late Andy Biemiller to the effect that the only thing that was profitable or feasible on the Hill was to fight rear guard actions of an ad hoc nature to prevent getting a little less on a wide range of programs which would not have meant very much even if one got a little more. I suppose this was called being "pragmatic", a hard course for me to see followed by "social democrats".

The big march on Washington a couple of years ago and the march now being planned may seem impressive. But dealing with unemployment and other social problems, as well as with the general economy, is not a matter of marches ~~and~~ without a legislative program and without answers to the things which now impregnate the Congress and the public mind with the spurious reasons why there should not be a legislative program, such as inflation, the Federal deficit, "squeezing out" private borrowing, and high interest rates. There must be powerful articulation, which there is not, in answer to ~~this objective~~ ^{these} ~~one~~ ^{ones}. There must be a philosophy translated into planning of what the government does. Martin Luther King's march on Washington was not just a cry for integration, open restaurants, and voting rights. It was in support of specific legislative programs to bring these changes about. I said recently to one of the most thoughtful people in the labor movement that, looking at things as they are, people might well march less and think more.

Actually, the situation has gotten worse and worse. Your current challenge to the Democratic Party does not even mention the Humphrey-Hawkins Act, and it is hardly ever mentioned by other groups to whom I have referred. Yet that Act was not a novel departure. It merely poured into one bottle the indisputable mandates across the whole gamut of economic and social objectives which had been imperative fulfillments even without that Act during all of those periods within the 50 years of my involvement in national policies when the results of these policies were successful. *The Employment Act was being violated for lack of specificity; hence the very specific Humphrey-Hawkins Act of 1946*
You once wrote me that the Humphrey-Hawkins Act had been destroyed by provisions against inflation which would require the sacrifice of full employment in the attempt to restrain inflation. Diametrically to the contrary, the Act prohibited the "trade-off" between employment and inflation, and anyone who believes that the restraint of inflation by other means is unimportant ^{could} be left out of comprehensive federal economic legislation in 1978 - or today - should think again.

Today, I suppose that the argument against paying any attention to Humphrey-Hawkins is that it has not accomplished anything. Of course it has not, but because neither the Congress, nor the Democrats, nor the Republicans, nor two Administrations have done anything except ignore it completely. The real reason why Humphrey-Hawkins was first abandoned by the power groups which should have made it the center of

their efforts, was ^{that} President Jimmy Carter, in his first Economic Report after its enactment, advocated a deliberate increase in unemployment and deliberately advocated a recession to combat inflation. He got more unemployment and another recession with more inflation. But the power groups abandoned Humphrey-Hawkins because they did not want to say anything to embarrass a Democratic President before he was going to run for re-election. I do not need to comment upon how this strategy worked out in terms of the ineffable Jimmy Carter in 1980. But regardless of that, should progressive forces behave this way?

Suppose that Martin Luther King had stopped supporting Civil Rights legislation after it was enacted because the President ^{and} the Department of Justice had completely ignored this legislation after it was enacted, and instead had made speeches about how much progress the blacks had made since they had come to America? Suppose that after the Wagner Act was enacted, the President and the Congress had completely ignored it, on which basis the labor groups had also forgotten it?

The Humphrey-Hawkins Act is the only thing that has appeared on the national scene to implement in meaningful size and workable relationships the objectives denominated in your current pamphlet; and the abandonment of that Act by its appropriate supporters, precisely like the abandonment of the Freedom Budget, has meant that there is no prospect for attaining any of these objectives in the deteriorating situation across the board during recent years and now. Instead of adhering to what has been tested and tried, the avant garde is now looking desperately for something which sounds new and is called new industrial policy. Some of what is needed may indeed be new, but most of what is still needed, although recently negated, is as old as the hills. What is new about the need for most of the eight policies set forth in your current pamphlet?

I am not unfamiliar with the argument that what I say is not responsive to the "pragmatic" needs of today. Indeed, your current pamphlet avows the strategy for the 1984 Democratic campaign platform. As one who drafted all three of the platforms on which FDR ran for re-election, and several economic portions of platforms after that running down to 1980, I do not have to have explained to me the difference between language and substance. Nor am I lacking in "pragmatism"; without my creative initiative and work on the legislation itself, there would have been no 3.3 billion dollar Public Works program, or wages and hours, act, or section 7(a) collective bargaining provisions, in the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933; no National Labor Relations Act in 1935; no low rent housing and slum clearance program originating in the U.S. Housing Act of 1937; no Employment Act in 1946; no National Housing Act of 1949, which was the most comprehensive of all housing acts; and no Humphrey-Hawkins Act (potentially, if put into effect, of larger significance than any of the others) in 1978. I was very active also in the original Social Security Act of 1935 and the National Housing Act (FHA) in 1934.

Mr. Bayard Rustin

Page 4

In all of this ^{meaningful} ~~legislation~~ ^{introduced} during the Roosevelt Administration, except for the FHA and the Social Security Act, we had to overcome apathy and more often the stumbling-block opposition of the President (the Employment Act of 1946 was ~~started~~ during the Roosevelt Administration). So much for the issue of practicality. If the powers that could be marshalled had behaved then as they are behaving now, we would have had but a fraction of this landmark legislation. If you think that I am exaggerating about the difficulties that had to be overcome, there is a generous literature on this whole subject, to which I can furnish the page references.

It is not for lack of matters to absorb my time that I am writing you this sort of letter. I have been remaining very busy with speeches, articles, pamphlets, and Congressional testimony to try to change the state of deterioration, but at times I do feel discouraged by what is going on, as reported upon in this letter. And it is only because I value so highly your intellectual power, strategic discernment, and philosophic view, that I address this letter to you, after having attempted for some time to get your ear when you are in Washington. The fine piece about you in the Washington Post is not really in conflict with what I have said.

With all good wishes,

Faithfully yours,

Leon

Leon H. ~~K~~ayserling

LHK:pp

WALTER F. MONDALE

August 25, 1983

Mr. Bayard Rustin
National Chairman
Social Democrats, USA
275 Seventh Avenue
25th Floor
New York, NY 10001

Dear Bayard:

Thank you very much for sending me the program of Social Democrats, USA. I believe, as you do, that we urgently need an industrial policy to spur innovation, increase international competitiveness, and restructure and revitalize industries hard hit by recession and technological change. I reject planned unemployment as a tool of economic policy. I have spoken out on these issues, and I intend to say more in coming months.

I also believe in a strong defense and foreign policy. I favor steady real increases in defense spending, intelligent procurement choices, and a clear-sighted understanding of Soviet capabilities and intentions. At the same time, I believe that we must pursue arms control much more seriously than the Reagan administration has done.

Enclosed are copies of speeches on these questions I gave earlier this year. Let's stay in touch.

Sincerely,

Walter F. Mondale

Enc.

ERNEST F. HOLLINGS
SOUTH CAROLINA

OFFICES:

1835 ASSEMBLY STREET
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA 29201
803-765-5731

103 FEDERAL BUILDING
SPARTANBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA 29301
803-585-3702

242 FEDERAL BUILDING
GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA 29603
803-233-5366

112 CUSTOM HOUSE
200 EAST BAY STREET
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA 29401
803-724-4525

233 FEDERAL BUILDING
FLORENCE, SOUTH CAROLINA 29503
803-662-8135

United States Senate

115 SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510
202-224-6121

September 1, 1983

RECEIVED SEP 1 1983

Mr. Bayard Rustin
National Chairman
Social Democrats, USA
275 7th Avenue
New York, New York 10001

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I appreciate having your letter of August 12 and, as a matter of fact, one of the first things I wanted to do when I got back here to the office was write you a little note congratulating you on your splendid "My Turn" piece which appeared in the August 29th Newsweek. Your understanding of the damaging effects brought about by unfair foreign competition and of the decline of basic American industries and your stress on the importance of jobs and education are very much in line with some of the things I have been saying. The coalition you talk about is the national partnership of labor and business and education and science -- brought together and working together with government -- to open the doors of opportunity and get this country moving again. I'm taking the liberty of enclosing a copy of my announcement speech in which some of these themes are touched upon.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Ernest F. Hollings
Ernest F. Hollings

EFH/mcc
Enclosure

COMMITTEES:

BUDGET: RANKING DEMOCRAT

APPROPRIATIONS

STATE, JUSTICE, COMMERCE, AND
THE JUDICIARY: RANKING DEMOCRAT

DEFENSE

LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES,
EDUCATION

ENERGY AND WATER DEVELOPMENT
LEGISLATIVE

COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND
TRANSPORTATION

COMMUNICATIONS: RANKING DEMOCRAT

SURFACE TRANSPORTATION

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND SPACE

DEMOCRATIC POLICY COMMITTEE

OFFICE OF TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT

NATIONAL OCEAN POLICY STUDY

Hollings

PRESIDENT

STATEMENT OF CANDIDACY

Senator Fritz Hollings
National Press Club
Washington, D.C.
April 18, 1983

I am announcing today my candidacy for the Presidency of the United States.

I seek the Presidency because I know government. I know its limits. I know its responsibilities.

Using this knowledge, the experience of thirty years in public service, I pledge myself to a single goal: to put the people of our country back to work by putting government back to work for the people.

No challenge we face -- and we face many -- equals our need to prepare America for survival and success in the global economic contest. We have the resources to win. We have the human ingenuity, the industrial muscle, the scientific imagination and the financial strength. And the people are hungry to compete. But we lack the leadership to combine these precious resources into a partnership.

Only a President can mobilize these resources in a common cause. I intend to be such a President.

A President must do more than ask Americans, "Are you better off today than you were four years ago?" The right question is, "Are we as a nation better off?" The distinction is important. President Reagan and other candidates continue to address individual interests at the expense of the common good. Presidents cannot lead by catering to selfish instincts or simply compromising among the competing demands of special interests.

A President must build and head a consensus of Americans for the common good. I intend to be such a President.

A candidate must level with his party. The Democratic Party lost the 1980 election because we lost the faith of the American people. Every time a special interest appeared, we responded. Every time a problem arose, we offered a single solution -- spend more money. For generations, Democrats appealed to the American people as a majority. For generations, Democrats managed the economy responsibly. We will not be returned to the White House until we prove we can do this again. I intend to fight for the soul of the Democratic Party.

A President must level with the people. Leaders must talk common sense -- not economic nonsense. There is hard work to do, painful sacrifice to make, genuine discipline to impose on ourselves. Ronald Reagan has broken the discipline. He has delivered us disastrous deficits, caused Depression-level joblessness, and he has demolished the consensus we needed for the rebuilding of our depleted defenses.

The Reagan deficits are adding \$1 trillion to our national debt in five years, and \$100 billion a year in interest costs to government spending. This is pure waste. Worse, federal borrowing has become an obstacle to recovery. It blocks private investment in new production facilities and new jobs.

I have been proposing for two years a freeze on spending increases. It would require Senators and Social Security recipients alike to sacrifice pay increases for one year. It would require that the rich forego their tax cut, that defense planners hold the line. In five years, it would save us \$700 billion. It will hurt. But it will restore fiscal integrity to government, investment incentives to industry, and jobs to the unemployed.

Only the President can set the discipline for such a sacrifice. I intend to be such a President.

Even if the budget were balanced in the next ten minutes, America's troubles would just begin. For twenty years, we have been losing our shirts in the field of international production and trade. Our factories are idle. Twelve million Americans are out of work, not just from Reaganomics, but because other nations who learned from us how to produce have gone Americans one better. They are using government as an active partner in coordinating business and labor, agriculture and science to compete in the international marketplace. Some of their success is due to protectionist trade practices, and we must deal strongly with these. But even more, their success results from everyone pulling together for the national interest.

I am not the candidate who is angry at the Japanese. I am angry a Ronald Reagan -- and in truth his predecessors -- for always representing the other government as it intervenes in our market. These foreign governments as a matter of policy are picking off our jobs and closing our plants. But rather than tackling this problem, President Reagan compounds it.

While other nations mobilize, the President rests on the dangerous and debilitating delusion that government is the enemy. With this ideology, Ronald Reagan is putting America out of business. The fear in this land is that America has forgotten how to produce, how to compete. But the truth is our government has forgotten how to produce, how to compete.

We don't need a lot of new laws to put private and public energies together. What we need is a change in government attitude, and a government willing to enforce the laws that exist.

What I propose is not a government plan, but government involved in the planning -- government should assist in research, in finance, and act as the catalyst in bringing business, labor and agriculture into partnership. We would not have a fixed industrial policy. But the many facets would amount to the best industrial policy.

The emphasis should be developing America's human infrastructure. Diogenes, in the days of ancient Greece, said that the foundation of any nation is the education of its youth. Two thousand years later, the New York Stock Exchange rediscovered that truth, stating that the reason for Japan's high productivity was education.

We cannot increase the income of any unless we increase the education of all. We should begin with nutrition, day care centers, community health centers, elementary and secondary education, math and science teachers, student loans and grants, and technical training. Unless we make an all-out effort for education in this country, America will never regain its competitive edge.

Half a century ago, Franklin Roosevelt looked out upon a land without hope, and transformed it into an economic giant that saved the free world. How did he do it? Some say it was his unique flair for leadership. Others point to the many alphabet agencies he created to attack entrenched problems. I believe he did it by appealing to deeper reserves in the American character -- enterprise, patriotism, fairness, generosity, community and common sense. When we use these reserves, these deep pools that temper and reinforce our vision, we set ourselves as a single people, as a family linked together in a common enterprise. We need these reserves once again. But we need go no further than our recent history to realize we have these reserves on tap:

We suffered through the agony of Pearl Harbor and then we crushed the dictatorships;

We saw Europe in ruins and then we rebuilt it with the Marshall Plan;

We watched communism spread and then we moved to stop it;

We were challenged by Sputnik and then we won the race to the moon;

We felt overwhelmed by racial discrimination and then we dismantled its structure;

We retreated before the onslaught of air and water pollution and then we turned them back.

There is no magic formula, no magical set of new ideas, no cluster of all powerful interest groups. There is just work. When we work together, sacrifice together and pull together, there is no force on earth that can stop us.

America's strength lies in its unity of purpose. We need a President who can reach out, pull us together and renew that sense of purpose. I have reached out, fed the hungry, skilled the unskilled, turned government from the red into the black, led the way for social justice, built a strong defense and worked to establish credibility in our foreign policy.

I know better than any that America and the road to freedom is not a 100 yard dash, but an endurance contest. Under my Presidency, we shall work, we shall compete, we shall redeem the promise of America.

####

HENRY M. JACKSON
WASHINGTON

Room 711
SENATE HART OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-3441

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C.

COMMITTEES:
ARMED SERVICES
ENERGY AND
NATURAL RESOURCES
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
INTELLIGENCE

August 31, 1983

RECEIVED SEP 1 1983

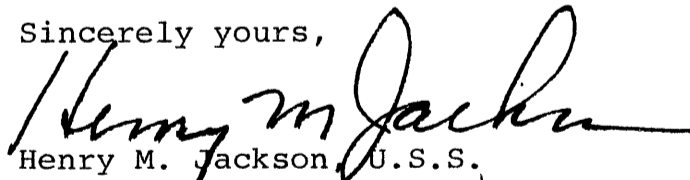
Mr. Bayard Rustin
National Chairman
Social Democrats, USA
275 7th Avenue
25th Floor
New York, New York
10001

Dear Bayard:

Thank you for your letter of August 23 inviting me to serve as a member of the National Advisory Council of Social Democrats, USA. As you know, I have long supported a number of the programs sponsored by the Social Democrats, especially in the area of foreign policy and human rights and social legislation. As I understand it, the Advisory Council will consist of both members and non-members of Social Democrats, USA. I would be serving as a non-member. Under these circumstances, I am very pleased to accept the invitation to serve.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,


Henry M. Jackson U.S.S.

HMJ:e

LEON H. KEYSERLING
2610 UPTON STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

RECEIVED FEB 1 1984

September 22, 1983

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Social Democrats, USA
275 7th Avenue, 25th Floor
New York, N.Y. 10001

Dear Bayard:

Although I have not received and regretfully do not expect an answer to my letter of August 22 to you, I feel impelled to write you again in further explanation of my signing but nonetheless expressing strong reservations about the Open Letter to Democrats and Republicans, transmitted to me on August 19 by a letter of which you are one of the signatories.

Our country for many, many years now has been afflicted with an intensification of many economic and social evils which bear down most heavily upon those least able to protect themselves. Our experience and knowledge, and even plans embodied in existing legislation, give us the power and therefore a moral obligation to make sizeable inroads upon these evils and vindicate what our country stands for.

I am therefore appalled and deeply distressed that, instead of facing up to the problem or getting to the heart of the matter, we are draining our energies and giving false hopes to scores of millions of people in activities of only tertiary value. The letter of August 19 to which I refer above, states problems as broad as ~~un~~necessarily implicating the entire public and private national policy of the U.S. We have had two centuries of experience, and most of it in times recent enough to have been experienced personally by you and me, which demonstrated that the proper and predominantly important instrumentality for doing the political and educational work which needs to be done, is the government of the United States.

If that government now is abnegating its responsibilities, the only solution is the practical and educational process of getting government to change its ways. In my judgement, no one should be more aware of this than those who, like the two of us, are so intently engaged in activities along these lines.

To give a job of this magnitude, or inescapably a very large part of it, to a "specially appointed, high-level public commission, with very large and varied representation" to study the situation and to make proposals "within 6 months to the President, Congress, and the public"

and then to publish an open letter to Republicans and Democrats, hold a press conference, etc., is a strong example of what has many times proved to be an evasive farce relative to the size, nature, and urgency of the problem. How can "prominent Republicans", presumably appointed by President Reagan, come forward with a respectable and meaningful program, in our judgement? What kind of "commission" would be appointed by President Reagan? How much attention would the President, the Congress, and the media, or the public, pay to the results of such a commission, and for how long?

I have signed the statement because there may be some subordinate value in this undertaking. But, like huge mass marches such as the recent one, and other exhortations and shakings of the fist, these are pitiful substitutes for meaningful legislation and other proposals in existence to create a political situation where the President and the Congress will pay some attention to them.

Let no one tell me that I am impractical, non-pragmatic, or outmoded - the same complaint could have been made when I was listened to and responded to in practically every bit of legislation of the past 50 years which ~~have~~ ^{has} molded the differences within the America of 1929 (or 1933) and the America of today. Getting away from personal references, Thomas Jefferson had a specific program which he wrote into the Declaration of Independence and helped to write into the Constitution; Abraham Lincoln had a specific program for which he had a large part in initiating our bloodiest war; Woodrow Wilson had a specific program, and so did Franklin Roosevelt; Robert F. Wagner, the largest contributor to our public well-being in the 20th century, had specific programs; and so did Eugene V. Debs and Norman Thomas and others later on who lived to see their programs enacted although in the names of others. The people today who claim to be so practical are merely joining in the deterioration of leadership which unfortunately seems to have marked developments in this country for almost two decades and perhaps in many other parts of the world also.

With all good wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

Leon

Leon H. Keyserling

LHK:pp

I am distressed ^{about} writing these kinds of letters, especially to you, but I am ^{far} more distressed by the increasing absence of that kind of efforts which, as in the past, made effective ^{effective} ~~roads~~ ^{roads} upon problems grievously affecting those who ^{help need} need & whom we are most concerned about helping.

RECEIVED MAR 19 1984

LEON H. KEYSERLING
2610 UPTON STREET, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

March 8, 1984

Ms. Rita Freedman
Executive Director
Social Democrats, USA
275 - 7th Avenue, 25th Floor
New York, New York 10001

Dear Ms. Freedman:

I have your letter transmitting the resolution adopted by the Social Democrats on January 7, and have some comments regarding same.

Of course, I approve of your statement regarding the Reagan Administration and with most of your stated alternatives, objectives, or policies. But your statement at least implies or imports that attacking the deficit in short order is of high priority and towards this end taxes should be increased substantially and the proceeds used to expand social programs. This indicates that the Social Democrats are coming too close to the Democrats in general and some of your allies. And, this is an example of why liberals are not getting anywhere much because they have no real program of a practical nature for remedying economic and social ills of long standing.

It is a mistake to fall into the remove-the-deficit trap. The top and most urgent priority is to get to full employment, production, and purchasing power as rapidly as feasible which means within four years at most. This in itself is the only way to remove the deficit, and while we are as far below these goals as we are now, the deficit is an advantage. The only practical course we have is to remove the deficit by fully restoring the economy, not by trying to reduce the deficit through policies which restrain real economic growth, hold idle resources very high and adopt wrongful fiscal and monetary policies which inevitably increase the deficit.

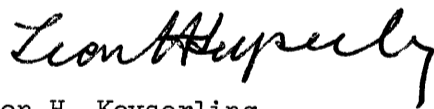
The tax increase which you seem to espouse to pay for the defense build up would be an upside down policy and would slow down rather than speed up real economic growth while adding the forces now making for another recession. The tax changes now needed should have a net

stimulative effect on the economy through remedying the distorted effects of immense tax reductions of 1981, which helped the greedy at the expense of the needy. But the main thrust of the national economic policy now needed should be to lift the spending side of the Budget by \$40 to \$50 billion to cure the slashes in and beyond that to expand the high priority domestic programs. I do agree with you that we should maintain a strong national defense posture, and not weaken it by setting out defense and domestic needs in competition with each other. (There is ample room for both in an economy moving toward full employment and full production) Such a program, if expanded over the years, would restore within four years a full economy, balance the Budget, improve the distribution of income and social justice and be anti-inflationary.

There were times when liberals and progressives could easily unite on such a program. But today, they have become weak where they think they are strong, hesitant where they think they are bold, and aimless where they think they are on the mark. Your statement has its good points, but nonetheless, it is illustrative of where we are falling down while the Democratic aspirants to the Presidential nomination are not impressive and why we may be paving the way to the re-election of Ronald Reagan.

With all good wishes.

Very sincerely yours,



Leon H. Keyserling

cc: Bayard Rustin ✓

p.s. Except for the advent of another recession by a few months before November 1984 (I think another is certain but it will come later), the way is being paved for Reagan's re-election. This cannot be changed by resort only to lambasting Reagan although it may be correct, with policy positions not very different from his and in some respects fundamentally the same (stressing the deficit), and without explaining the vast changes needed in line with the best performance and heritage of the successful Democratic Administrations. Instead of accepting as most Democratic leaders now do the pernicious propositions that what Democratic Administrations did in the years of their glory during FDR and Truman and part of Kennedy-Johnson explains the troubles which in fact flowed from Nixon, Ford, Carter, and Reagan. Even if the Democrats should happen to win, by adhering to the positions they are now advancing, we will get a new Administration of the nature of Carter and Reagan rather than something as much different as we need. Political strategy is all to the good, so long as it does not subordinate national purpose.

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Proving that we are "moderate" and not "extreme" is desirable but extolling the private sector should not even imply any support for the by now confirmed disparagement of "big Government" in which the leading Democrats have entangled themselves.